224 778 plant and one of the stakes. The customs and ceremonies observed before leaving for the communal hunt are identical to those we have just described.

224 As to the relations between the fetisher, the hunting fetish, and the individual hunter, we will ignore them, having been unable to obtain any information on this subject in these regions.

Throughout the region we visited, large-scale hunting is done communally. As a rule, all the men participate, including young men from the age of 15. [Ed., the text is not translated from the last paragraph, page 81, to the second paragraph, page 83.]

[83] The catch of the communal hunt is shared among all the families in the village, with the chief and the dignitaries having special rights.

224 622 Individual hunting does not entail any distribution, except when a buffalo, leopard, or elephant is involved. [793] The tail of the buffalo goes to the native chief who uses it as a fly-chaser and a badge of rank. [781] The skin of the leopard is reserved for the chief, who makes it into a skirt which he displays ostentatiously at important festivities and public dances. The trunk and tusks of the elephant go to the chief while the bristles go in part to the hunters and [84] in part to the local dignitaries, who use them to make necklaces. [778] [784]

Fig. 51. Yaelima Fetish, Nkisi of the Hunt.

1: Maes--71 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32
Salata F043

SM 251

The average height is 1.25 meters, the width 2.50 meters, and the length five to ten meters. The women maintain a fire under this smoking-drying apparatus night and day. It is fed with grass and other rubbish, which are not very dry so that a great deal of smoke will be produced. All the fish are turned over twice a day. After eight to ten days the operation is finished. The dried, smoked fish are carefully wrapped after being sorted and graded according to size. Part of the fish will make up the family reserve, and the rest will be used as trade goods. When the grid

SM [226 285]

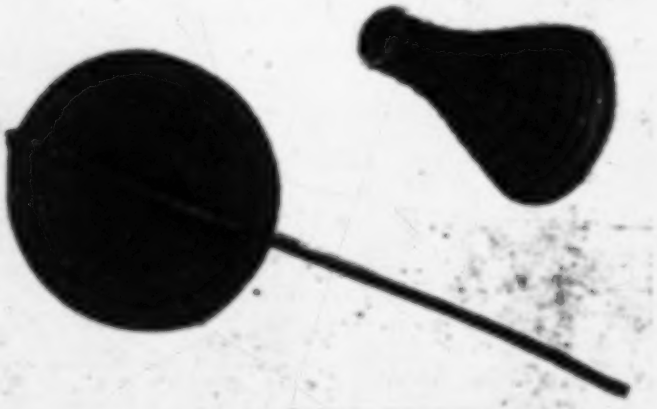

Fig. 57. Baskets for Fishing, Lake Leopold II.

is almost empty, the men go up the river and start fishing again.

SM 226

It is difficult to realize the magnitude of this industry and the unbelievable quantities of fish caught by the natives during their sojourn in the region of the salt grass. We watched one of these miraculous hauls one day, organized through the kind cooperation of Mr. Molin. The river had been dammed for only one night, the natives went up it only 150 [97] meters, this in the middle of the dry season, and yet they brought back four large baskets full of fish.

SM [225]

The catch from communal fishing is shared at the end of the season. A part is reserved for the chief, the owners of the screens receive a special share, and the rest is divided among all the members of the group participating in the enterprise. [Ed., a

004

264 The natives eat three meals a day, in the morning, toward noon, and at night after sunset.

The wife is never allowed to eat with her husband or to eat in the same group as he does.

[622] A chief always eats alone, far from the eyes of the common herd. [143]

Leftovers from the meals are ordinarily given to the women and children.

264 415 We did not find tables, spoons, or forks among any of the tribes we visited.

The food is put in small baskets of rattan or raffia splints,

[25]

Fig. 82. Native Outdoor Kitchen, Ipanga-Batitu Tribe.

plaited in openwork and lined with leaves on the bottom. Sometimes the plate is made of wood or baked clay.

Among the Bateke-Banfumungu, we collected some earthenware plates which look a great deal like European soup plates, but are less symmetrical in shape and deeper. Among the Baboma-Wadia-Batete, on the other hand, the plates look more like our flat plates. Among the Ipanga-Yaelima, basketwork plates are chiefly used, while in the Bena Dibele-Kole region one finds the pottery plate again, a sort of broadly flared,

301 Among the peoples of Lake Leopold II, hair ornaments are rare. Hairpins seem to be unknown; combs are made of raffia splints. A woman prefers ornaments of metal, iron, brass, or copper, while the chiefs and great dignitaries like to wear belts, necklaces, bracelets, and trimmed with cowries. The necklace of solid brass is very popular. The heavier it is, the more it is liked. We saw women wearing necklaces weighing as much as 25 pounds. These necklaces are riveted around the necks of the favorite wives of great chiefs or wealthy

[292 293 622]

Fig. 104. Native Chief of Lake Leopold II and his Counselor, Highest Dignitary of the Tribe, both in Dress Costume.

[586] dignitaries. In case of divorce or separation, the owner of the necklaces removes them without regard for the suffering or cries of the victim. The women seem to be in no way inconvenienced by these cumbersome ornaments. On rare instances they wrap cloth around them to keep them from rubbing against the collarbone. [183]

1: Maes--151 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32
Yaelima

bent, running from the top of the breastbone to the navel. To the left and right of this main line, we see a double row of small oblique lines separated from each other by a space from one to three centimeters wide. The facial tatto consists of a double or triple row of oblique lines, arranged in such a way that they look like palm leaves, and a small crest formed by short, curved incisions at the root of the nose. According to a photograph sent by Mr. Timmermans, this same type of tattoo is also found among

304

[622 142]

Fig. 118. Inunu, the Young and Excellently Endowed Batitu Chief of the Oshwe Region.

the Yaelima. We ought to note in this connection that in the course of our journey [194] through this region we did not observe this anywhere, despite numerous investigations. We therefore believe that an error was made in transmitting the information. The persons involved were probably Ipanga-Batitu who happened to be in the Yaelima region.

584 power to settle disputes. They claim their share of the remuneration from the ndonga. According to the saying -- in archaic language -- botɛ́ wǎ ndonga nd'â dombɛ́, "the power (literally, "the medicine") of the ndonga resides in the judges." Not that the judges themselves have the right or the power to intervene in matrimonial palavers. But they are that many additional witnesses. If the day comes when there is a dispute on the subject of the bride price, especially at the time of a divorce, the ndonga can call on them to help him refresh his memory and thus avoid difficulties. For it can easily happen that after several years the official witness has only a vague and approximate recollection of what was paid. If the judges do not receive anything at the time of payment, they will refuse to give their assistance at the critical moment. It is therefore an intelligent policy to acquiesce to their desires even though strictly speaking they can invoke no real prerogatives.

178 584 ●622 At the present time the colonial government, having established districts and named chiefs, the latter have had attributed to them the right to officially act as ndonga in matrimonial matters, or at least they have taken advantage of the powers given them and done so. In general [111] they summon the judges of the district at the same time, and the matter is entered after a fashion in the register of settlements. The chief's presence as a witness may have some value, since he can provide additional testimony and writes down the amount of the bride price. But his presence, on the other hand, has the disadvantage of involving him in matters which all in all are none of his business. We are not speaking here of cases in which he or some relatives of his are interested parties in the palaver. If he would be content to be a passive witness and enter the transactions that take place, the situation would be perfect.

192 184 It is probable that etymologically the word ndonga is derived from the verb root long, intransitive longam, "to be in order, arranged," transitive longy, "to arrange, make as it should be." In addition to the word ndonga, which is used west of the Lulaka, we find the word bokɔ́lo used among the Boŋgí and the Boɗyɛ́ (as well as the Elíŋgɛ́), and ntombi among the Injɔ́lɔ́. The latter term could be the same word as its homonym which means "spy" and is derived from the verb

583* 431 One must be careful not to confuse this boengo with byiko bya nyang'ey'ona, an expression frequently heard. The latter includes any payment to the mother and includes the goat and the nkando as well as the boengo discussed above and others. The word used in this case is not byikó, singular ikó, "porcupine," but rather byiko, singular wiko, "price, value" and derived from the verb -ika, "to set a price."

3) Lokolé: a brother or a cousin of the wife asks for a konga. He beats the gong (lokolé) in order to make noise and thus force the husband to satisfy him. That is how this boengo seems to have originated. In practice people simply demand a [147] present. The racket can sometimes last for quite a while. But the elders do not allow the gathering to be disrupted if the husband does not have precisely the gift that would give satisfaction.

4) Bakulé, or botúwé: the woman's brothers stick a piece of the trunk of a banana tree (botúwé) into the ground, so that young relatives of the husband may shoot arrows (bakulé) at it. These are then removed by young members of the wife's family who, at the present time, are sometimes given money -- 5 francs, for instance.

[283] [727] 5) Wambé: prisoner's rope, that is, a rope to which war prisoners were formerly tied, two by two (a system now imitated for prisoners of the colonial law enforcement agencies and administration). In the past the patriarch, or head of the family, demanded a konga or a knife as indemnity against the possibility that he or members of his family might be imprisoned as a result of a war caused by the woman being married. Nowadays the chiefs set up by the administration and [177] [627] given the rights of family heads by the European authority have also claimed rights to this boengo whose significance, purpose, and even name have completely changed as a result. It is now called bonyoóla w'ónkonji, "the chief's chain." It is clear that this payment has become something which it was not meant to be.

6) Etáka: a heavy wooden fork, fastened to the neck. This is a present claimed by the mother, by one of the father's other wives, or by a wife of the woman's brother, against the possibility that they may have to undergo torture by means of the fork because of the women whose bride price is being paid. This could happen if she were

177 Although even St. Thomas teaches that the only natural authority is that of the head of the family, European legislation has, through ignorance, completely abolished the rights of the native family head; the wife is freed from all ties and is thus abandoned to licentiousness. Through a legal fiction, clan law has gone over into the hands of the "recognized native courts of justice," which, however, have just as much to do with the clan court as a policeman with a father. The communization of trade, education, and the rearing of the young, as is demonstrated to us by Russia, would revolutionize our society far less than our installation of these so-called native courts of justice has done in the Congo. Education and correction have been replaced by punishment. Politics, which have begun to play such an all-important 602 role in our society, had /155/ almost no importance in Nkundo society. 613 The neighboring clans were all connected with each other through blood relationship, intermarriage, or friendship ties. Only when there was a struggle against a foreign and common enemy did politics have a role to fulfill. And then the same order of rank was observed among the clans as was already indicated for the members of a single clan.

177 Here also, biased or romantic products of our ideas about barbarism 728 have adapted these so-called intertribal wars to the need that we felt, 622 to civilize the natives at any cost. These wars were not to be compared with our European wars, in which a mass of people are slaughtered. In the Congo, no sooner had wounded or dead fallen on both sides than the chiefs were already congregated to conclude a peace treaty. Here again, we meant to respect the political organization of the natives by the creation of chieftainships and native chiefs, who were to form the political-administrative link between the native clans and the European higher administration. Such chiefs were totally unknown in native society. Together with the establishment of the native courts, the establishment of chieftainships gave the death blow to the actual social organization of the Nkundo-Mongo. The very fact that these institutions are territorial demonstrates clearly that here no ordinary shifting of power has taken place, but simply an elimination of the traditional power in favor of a new colonial power.

177 Indeed, where formerly the "customary rightful chief" was sought 622 out, even though it was sometimes only a formality, the new formula of the "secteurs" has relieved the higher administration from this care too. And it is only to be hoped that this new formula will at least do away with the legal fiction that the "chiefs" are actually "something native," so that they may be classified for once and for all in the

177 622 category of civil servants. In this manner they would fall under the written law and could be obliged to practice monogamy, whereas now nearly all of the "native chiefs" are precisely the maintainers and promoters of polygamy. If this had /156/ been enforced from the start, then polygamy, instead of spreading, would have virtually disappeared from the native society.

5. Splitting of the Clan

613 After all that has been said before, it must be rather apparent how an autonomous clan can split up and, thereby, form two autonomous clans.

When a clan has expanded too far, its leaders cross over the boundaries of blood relationship, and offenses against the law of exogamy occur. When such offenses are multiplied, further separation is gradually aimed at to make marriages possible. Such a situation between two parts of the same clan, who are striving for "legal autonomy," is called lonkana, a term that signifies that unlawful relations exist between the two. It generally occurs between member groups that have the same male ancestor, but not the same female ancestor—that is, they are issue from different wives of the same founder.

Another cause of splitting is the voluntary or obligatory withdrawal of one of the members. When he establishes himself outside, begets a sizeable progeny, and acquires a patrimony of his own, the relations with his own clan become less frequent; and the separated fraction gradually begins to settle smaller lawsuits, to maintain its own graveyard, to bury the umbilical cords of its children in its own territory, to take on its own name, and to refer to its own founder.

Often also at the source of this estrangement lies the refusal of a certain fraction of the clan to submit to the authority of the clan members.

6. Legal Dependents

613 614 608 Until now we have spoken only of the ethnic clans of the members who belong to it through descent. They /157/ are the sole bearers of

614 each other to employ their own messengers. When the messenger
621 of settlement II arrives here, he first calls on the messenger of
624 the nuclear kinship group Bosɔ̂bɛ́ (No. 19) and then to Impfinga
202 (No. 26). The messenger from Bosɔ̂bɛ́ calls on his relatives in settlement VI, who are the nuclear kinship group Mbelo-Mmuna (No. 22), while the messenger from Impfinga-Ndongɔ̂ formerly had to call on the group Bommambo which is now extinct.

Settlement V consisted of three different groups. Bolima, the group of the father, had its own messenger; however, he only received the messages without having to pass them on, which is also the case with all these last groups of the village. Both neighbors had their own messenger. The messenger from settlement I called on the nuclear kinship group Bolesangi, his relatives; the messenger from settlement III went to his relatives of the nuclear kinship group Ituli.

There were also two messengers in the last hamlet, but reports on this subject are insufficient since the nuclear kinship group Bommambo has been extinct for a long time.

178 All the settlements just mentioned have a common
614 characteristic: formerly, at important dance festivals, their
621 young men performed together in one joint corps de ballet. The
595 population was decimated as a result of the rigors of [201] the
[161] occupation period and also as a result of the population movement into the cities. Consequently, there are not enough young people any more, and I with II, III with IV, and V with VI act together. Thus, in each case we find Ngelɛ́ and Nkoto united
[361] in one ballet. Although these groups have also been scattered as a result of the new settlement pattern (next to the highway), the old organizational structure has been preserved, and the young people do not hesitate to walk the long distance to the practice field every day so they can dance in the old groupings.

All of Isangi, all three kinship groups, have one common
621 village chief, the Nkɛ́mɔ́, with an iyolo nafka who gets the meet-
624 ings started, and a village court with its judges. There are other
622 groups which correspond to Isangi (31), but have more than one

31. See Müller, Fürstentum, pp. 73 ff., 76 ff., 133 f.

621 nkfimû. They, too, however, have only one man who opens a
624 meeting and one investigating judge. Only one of the nkfimû
622 has the function of judge. Consequently, we may say that even if the office is divided, the group still forms a unit as far as jurisdiction and political organization are concerned.

Among these groups we usually can observe a balanced
614 system of distribution as far as titles and offices are concerned.
621 It may either be predominantly democratic, as in Isangi, so
622 that all groups may lay claim to titles and offices, or it may be
624 oligarchic, as in Mbanga, where all power is vested in the oldest group of sons. In most cases, oligarchical groups tend to disintegrate; the younger groups attempt to free themselves from the rule. Democratic villages usually have a greater degree of cohesion.

In Isangi the small kinship groups of Ndongê (Nos. 2-6), Nganga (No. 5), and Boyeke (Nos. 14-18) formerly had the privilege of furnishing the nkfimû. This practice has been discarded, and the honor is now rotated among the six local groups of the village. Only the small kinship groups of the Bolima, Bestlo, and Njildokuli are excluded.

The six settlement communities of Isangi and similar
621 groupings found in other villages are parts of a village which
614 in my opinion are best described by the term hamlet [Weiler].

These are units which are predominantly intentional in nature. In spite of their functional weakness, they have survived even in the new settlement although they may not dwell together in a block. As a result of reintegration, they have lost their function as conscription district for the dancing groups in Isangi (see p. 28), but even at the present time they still represent the most important grouping in Isangi: we were aware of it before identifying any of the kinship groups. It is expected that they will lose their importance if Isangi does not return to its original site. By nature less closely connected with the or-
[622] ganization of the village of their husbands, the women have become the point of departure for the new order of things (e.g., for dance groups) which fulfills the requirements of the new settlement conditions.